"A CAN OF WORMS" BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

August 28, 1954
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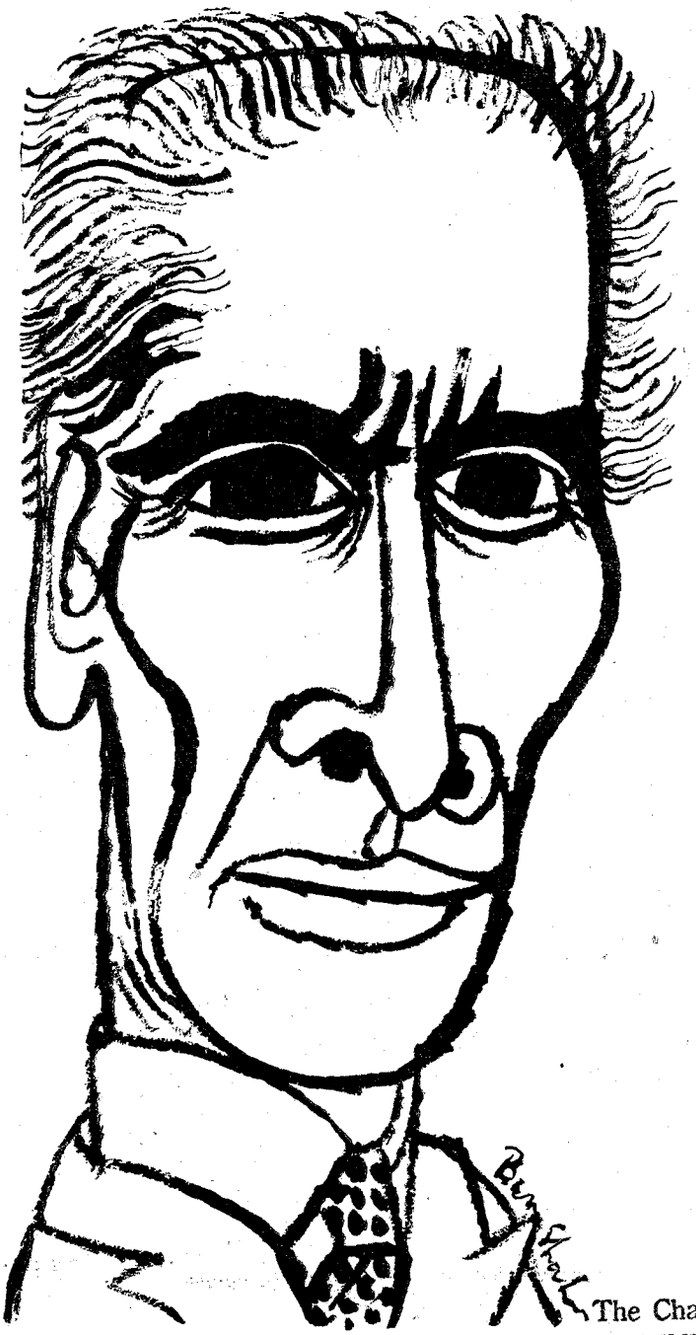

# Krishna Menon

## Architect of Peace

*by Sam A. Jaffe*

New York Discovers Crime

*by Leslie Slote*

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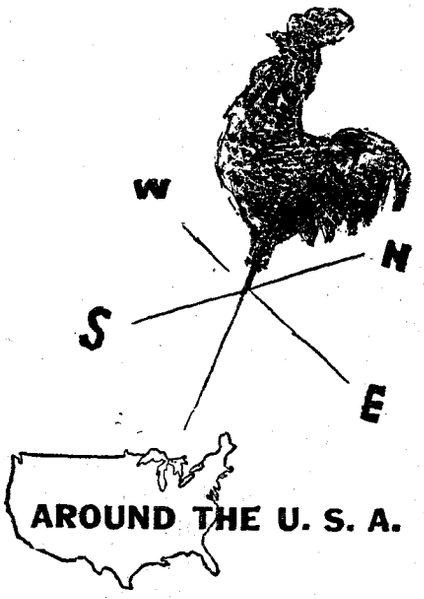


## The Case of David Hyun

*Los Angeles*

A DEPORTATION order that is equivalent to a death sentence has been issued by the United States Immigration Service against David Hyun, a Los Angeles architect born in Korea. In effect, the order asks the South Korean government to perform an act legally and morally forbidden in the United States, where an alien cannot be executed on the ground that he is or was a Communist.

As the son of one of Syngman Rhee's principal opponents, as a vocal critic himself of the Rhee administration, and as a Korean national judged to be a Communist by an official United States agency, David Hyun will be in triple jeopardy if his deportation to South Korea is carried out. He will face certain torture and death. Yet the Department of Justice has pressed relentlessly for his deportation.

Only the face of the oppressor has changed since 1920, when David Hyun's family—he was then a child of two—fled from the Japanese police during the fight for Korean independence. For five years David's father, a Methodist missionary, his mother, who still suffers from tortures inflicted by the Japanese, and their eight children lived in Shanghai, where the Provisional Government of the new Republic of Korea was set up. The father became Minister of Interior in this government and was chosen to represent the independence movement in the outside world.

As a special envoy to the United States seeking recognition of Korea's independence, the Reverend Hyun aroused the hostility of Syngman Rhee. For the next twenty years the personal enmity between the two men sharpened. Hyun was marked as an enemy of the Rhee regime, his life was threatened, he was forcibly removed from office, and two associates who had opposed Rhee's terrorist methods were assassinated.

DAVID, the Hyuns' youngest son, grew up on the island of Kauai, Territory of Hawaii. He disliked attending Korean schools, learning the Korean language, and being a Korean, and he regarded his family's annual celebration of Korean Independence Day as an empty observance. He had shown no interest in labor or politics when he entered the University of Hawaii in 1936 to study mathematics and physics.

In 1943, when he was employed by the United States Army Engineers, young Hyun led his first crusade—a campaign to abolish the 25 per cent wage differential which mainlanders enjoyed over native workers. The demand for equal pay was granted, and the easy success of the campaign launched David in the Hawaiian labor movement. He became active in the Federation of Architects, Chemists, Engineers, and Technicians, then a C. I. O. affiliate, and helped organize the sugar workers in 1946. By then he was a member of the executive board of the Political Action Committee of the C. I. O.

David brought his wife and two young sons to the United States in 1947 and became a licensed architect. In October, 1950, four months after the outbreak of the Korean war, he was arrested as a "dangerous alien" and charged with being a member of the Communist Party of the United States, which is ground for exclusion. He was denied bail and held for six and a half months on Terminal Island. While the matter of bail was still pending he was released, then arrested again in July, 1953, and held in custody for another five months. He is now free on $2,000 bail while his case is on appeal.

The deportation order was based on testimony taken in Honolulu while David was in custody in California, and is being tested in the courts. The separate issue of physical persecution now rests with the Commissioner of Immigration and the Attorney General in Washington. On this point the government's case should collapse under the weight of evidence introduced.

More than one hundred affidavits and exhibits from reliable eyewitnesses, army officers, religious leaders, and eminent war correspondents for the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune* and the Chicago *Sun-Times* tell of the grave dangers in South Korea "not only to Communists . . . but to quite conservative people," of "drastic steps against political opponents," of "persecution and brutality against political critics," of Rhee's "penchant for jailing critics of his government's corruption," and of the systematic silencing of opposition to the Rhee government "by methods so barbaric . . . as to revolt the most hardened individuals."

THE Internal Security Act of 1950, under which David Hyun was arrested, provides that "no alien shall be deported . . . to any country in which [he] would be subjected to physical punishment." Even the Walter-McCarran Act of 1952 contains a watered-down provision granting the Attorney General discretionary power to withhold deportation to countries where punishment is anticipated. However, in a similar deportation case involving a Korean national, the Attorney General chose to rely on the word of the Korean ambassador, who gave his assurance that the alien, Sang Ryup Park, would not be persecuted so long as he obeyed the country's laws. This assurance, the courts held, was not enough to support Park's deportation. "It is not the sort of evidence," said United States Judge Louis E. Goodman in quashing the deportation order, "upon which a solemn finding, involving human life, should depend."

Under present immigration laws the Department of Justice serves as a go-between, delivering the victim into the hands of the would-be executioner. So far only the courts have been able to prevent the government from playing such an infamous role.

HANNAH BLOOM

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

# The Shape of Things

## Mendes-France and E. D. C.

Perhaps M. Mendès-France tried to do too many things at once: sanction German rearmament—since he believes it cannot be avoided; open the way for new negotiations with Moscow and for a review of the European army treaty if Germany should be unified by agreement; postpone indefinitely military integration under supra-national control, thus leaving France—but Germany too!—free to maintain national armies; and give every member state the right to suspend decisions of the administrative body of the community, thus destroying its political authority. One can understand why the signatory states meeting at Brussels rejected the French protocol. Some of them even suspected that it had been deliberately framed to be turned down.

This is not at all likely. It would be contrary to the character and technique of the French Premier. No doubt he sincerely believes, and hoped he could convince his European colleagues, that the French Assembly will go no farther than his plan provided in the surrender of sovereignty, and that he cannot close the door to a German settlement with the Soviet Union.

As the week began, the French Premier was conferring with Churchill, apparently in an effort to find out whether a new kind of Anglo-French alliance could be substituted for E. D. C. which would meet with the approval of the French Assembly, the United States, and, presumably, Chancellor Adenauer. From this distance we cannot help wishing that Mendès-France had gone about all this another way—by insisting that talks with Russia precede a showdown on E. D. C. Nor is it too late. He could still press for a four-power conference on Germany and European security, as proposed by Moscow early this month. Here is a project which Churchill, considering Britain's domestic political situation, might find it difficult to disapprove.

## Trouble on Cyprus

There are times when Britain's Tory government appears, by comparison at least, to be a model of enlightened conservatism. But no sooner do we begin to cheer than it kicks up its heels and displays the cloven hooves of Bourbonism. Thus on the very day when, despite opposition from its diehard supporters, it won approval of the House of Commons for the Egyptian agreement—a victory for realism—it disclosed its intention of embarking on an idiotically reactionary course in Cyprus.

That island, with its predominantly Greek population, is destined to become the chief British base in the Near East. It is also promised a new constitution, one that will provide it with less self-government than most of Britain's crown colonies. Moreover, in announcing this dubious concession, the Minister of State, Mr. Hopkinson, indicated that British sovereignty would be permanent: never could the inhabitants hope for independence or, what most of them want more, *enosis*—union with Greece.

This statement, which was sharply attacked by Labor spokesmen, naturally led to strong protests in Cyprus itself. The island authorities tolerated these for a few days until the summer adjournment of the House of Commons dispersed their most potent critics. Then the governor promulgated a new anti-sedition law making publication of demands for independence or union with Greece, or even of criticisms of government policy, a crime punishable by imprisonment and suspension of the offending organ for three years. This "monstrous restriction on the liberty of the press," as the Manchester *Guardian* terms it, would seem an infallible recipe for raising Cypriot nationalism to fever-heat and insuring as hostile an environment for the British garrison as that suffered in Egypt.

## Coexistence or No Existence

The recent resumption of talk about a preventive war —General Van Fleet's statement in New Orleans ("The only good Communist is a dead one"), General Mark Clark's testimony before the Jenner committee—has been interpreted out of context. This time the preventive-war talk is being used to counter the talk of coexistence. The main tactic seems to be to marshal sentiment against a policy of coexistence by urging support for S. R. 247, introduced by Senators Jenner and McCarran, which calls upon the Administration to break off relations with the Soviet Union. In recent hearings—notably those of May 18 and 27—the Jenner committee has emphasized that peaceful coexistence is a "suicidal formula" which can best be scotched by severing relations with the U. S. S. R. Great emphasis has been placed, in these hearings, on the necessity of upsetting the Soviet Union's trade offensive before the idea of trade and other sorts of

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coexistence becomes too attractive both among our allies and here at home.

Much the same motivation is implicit in the interim report of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression (the Kersten committee), which recommends that the Administration seek a concerted withdrawal by free nations of diplomatic recognition of all "Moscow-controlled governments." Any attempt to mobilize sentiment here for a severance of relations with Russia would necessarily involve pressure on our allies against expanding trade relations with the Soviet bloc.

## War of Statements

The timing of these statements is interesting and perhaps significant. On August 5 the President issued his "Good Partner and Good Neighbor" statement in Washington. The implications were quickly noted. Wrote James Reston in the New York *Times* (August 7):

> There is a new sound in Washington. The government has lowered its voice. After the thunder-like percussion of its statements on Indo-China it seems to have decided after all that the only realistic alternatives in this unsatisfactory era are either coexistence with the Communists or no existence.

The reaction was prompt. On August 10 former President Hoover, speaking at West Branch, Iowa, characterized recognition of Soviet Russia as the major diplomatic mistake of the Roosevelt Administration. On the same day General Clark, testifying before the Jenner committee in Washington, said that if he were a member of Congress he would vote for S. R. 247. (It is interesting to recall in this connection that it was Mr. Hoover, as chairman of the Congressional Commission on Federal Reorganization, who designated General Clark to conduct the survey of the Central Intelligence Agency.) On August 9 the interim report of the Kersten committee was released. The President's statement on August 11 that he would not listen to talk of pulling out of the U. N. or severing relations with Russia or launching a preventive war was obviously based on a recognition that talk of this sort was one way in which his critics on the right were attempting to pressure him. For the Republican right-wingers are acutely distressed by the President's recent statements. As they see it, he has come dangerously close to giving at least passive acceptance to the idea of peaceful coexistence.

## Informers Are Not Experts

Under sharp criticism largely set in motion by *The Nation's* special feature of April 10—The Informer by Frank Donner—the Department of Justice now seeks to justify its continued use of discredited political informers. In a recent speech Assistant Attorney General War-




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ren Olney III, a protégé of Chief Justice Warren and a former counsel for the California State Crime Commission, has replied to the department's critics. "What is being challenged," he states, "is not the accuracy or credibility of any particular witness." But the department has been asked to investigate the informer Paul Crouch on precisely this ground. The testimony of another informer, Manning Johnson, has been directly challenged by Dr. Ralph Bunche and a score of equally reliable witnesses. Recently accusations by Louis Budenz were denied by Dr. Ralph Barton Perry and Dr. Ernest Watson Burgess, bringing to nearly two dozen the number of highly reputable witnesses who have made similar denials under oath. By continuing to use discredited witnesses the department has placed itself in a very dubious position. Yet Mr. Olney ignores these facts and rests his defense on the proposition that the department cannot obtain "witnesses with better qualifications" to testify on Communist history, doctrine, and practice. Is this really true? Have American political scientists wholly failed to study these matters? If the department had relied on expert witnesses it would not be embarrassed, as it is today, by the growing public realization that most of the convictions obtained in political prosecutions to date rest on the discredited testimony of ex-Communists and other paid informers.

# "A Can of Worms"

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

THE FINAL action of the Senate and House in adopting a measure to outlaw the Communist Party along with Senator Butler's bill to deny collective-bargaining rights to "Communist-infiltrated" unions fulfills our painful prediction of last week. We said then that the tactic of Senators Humphrey, Kennedy, and Morse, if it was a tactic, of attempting to defeat the Butler bill by offering the Humphrey substitute was bound to fail. Neither party will permit the other to out-bid it in the current competition in demagoguery. Somewhat chastened by strong editorial condemnation of the unseemly panic, disorder, and display of partisanship which characterized its earlier action, Congress did agree to drop the proposal which would have made mere membership in the Communist Party a criminal offense but the measure finally approved is nearly as mischievous and hardly less dangerous.

What should be of most serious concern about this disgraceful episode in the history of an undistinguished Congress is the behavior of the liberal Democrats in the Senate. (Out of kindness I do not place the word liberal in quotation marks as Arthur Krock did in a recent scornful column in the New York *Times*.) If Senators Humphrey, Kennedy, and Morse, and the others, sponsored the outlaw measure as a tactic to defeat the Butler bill, then they were forewarned by a similar experience in 1950 (see comment last week) that the tactic would not work. Judged at the level of expediency, their action, to coin a phrase, might be characterized as infantile Machiavellianism.

But in at least one case a different conclusion must be drawn. Senator Humphrey will not permit this more charitable interpretation to be placed on his action; he insists on getting into the same bed, on this issue, with Martin Dies. It is now clear, for example, that he wanted to introduce such a measure in 1950 and was only kept from doing so by pressure from the Truman Administration. His action, therefore, in offering the substitute proposal from the floor had only the appearance of expediency and haste; it had been carefully thought out well in advance. More surprising is the admitted fact that the key provision in his bill was lifted bodily from a similar proposal which Representative Dies had worked out with Judge Michael Musmanno. It will be recalled,

> MR. SMATHERS: We live under a government of law. Duly enacted laws govern our lives. A man's rights, or privileges, are not taken from him without due legal action. However, today we condemn persons with Communist leanings or beliefs. We have been throwing them out of the teaching profession. We even make it difficult for Communists to work in ordinary industry. We are surely driving them out of all social, professional, and industrial life, and yet while we so proscribe these people there is no hard and fast law that says it is wrong or illegal to be a Communist or that a Communist cannot work in these fields of endeavor. So today without benefit of law, we pick at them, hold them up to bad publicity and ridicule, punish and persecute them, and finally we throw them out; but not by benefit of law. Mr. President, to conduct ourselves in this way—without benefit of law—is to practice the grossest type of discrimination. We are discriminating against them for their thoughts and acts, when under present law, what they think and do is completely legal. If we are going to be a government of law, why do we not meet the problem head on and say, "We do not like communism; we fear it; it is opposite to what we believe in; therefore, anybody who believes in it, advocates it, or who belongs to a political party which itself advocates or believes in communism, is guilty of a crime against the United States"? If we take this step then we will have a legal basis on which we can proscribe them in our society. The way to face this issue, Mr. President, is to meet the problem head on.
>
> —Congressional Record
> *August 12, 1954, p. 13567*



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MR. MULTER: What is the burning rush about this? Why must it be done today in the closing hours of this session, with 40 minutes of debate and no opportunity to amend it? No one has suggested that any possible harm can come from waiting until next January to pass this bill. Permit me to suggest that your action here today borders on hysteria, born of fear that you cannot prove you are 100 per cent American.

—Congressional Record
*August 16, 1954, pp. 13844-5*

too, that the Butler bill itself may be traced back to the hearings of a subcommittee which Senator Humphrey chaired in 1951. Mr. Humphrey can hardly object, therefore, to the comment of William V. Shannon in a dispatch from Washington to the New York *Post* that "the voice was the voice of Humphrey but the hand was the hand of Dies." The Humphrey proposal was stupid as a tactic; it was also politically immoral. Playing politics is one thing; unhinging constitutional guarantees for cheap partisan and personal advantage is something else again.

As finally approved, the measure to outlaw the Communist Party is certain to be troublesome and hazardous. Throughout the world, it will be regarded, and quite properly, as an ominous manifestation that this country is in danger of succumbing to the totalitarian virus. The banning of political parties has consistently indicated that the forces moving toward the eclipse of representative government have entered a one-way street. Other symptoms have proven misleading or inconclusive; this one has seldom failed. To ban a political party by name

MR. DIES: Section 3 of the House bill, which outlaws the Communist Party, was taken from H. R. 8912, a bill which I introduced and which was later introduced by my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania (Mr. Graham), and which was written largely by Justice Musmanno as an eminent authority on this question. Justice Musmanno spent a great deal of time and he prepared what I conceived to be an effective bill.

—Congressional Record
*August 16, 1954, p. 13843*

betrays a basic distrust of the electorate and has usually been the prelude to government-by-decree.

Outlawing the Communist Party is an example of the illusion of logic. It is the result not of "twenty years of treason" but of twenty years of nonsense—about communism as a domestic menace. Once enough people have come to accept the dogma that the Communist Party must for all purposes be regarded as a criminal conspiracy, then the demand that it be banned becomes quite logical. The Communist Party may well have conspiratorial aspects but it is also a political party, functioning as other political parties. Nor is it easy to understand how a political movement, numbering 25,000 members at a minimum, can be regarded as a criminal conspiracy. Ten can conspire or even a hundred perhaps; but when the number reaches into the thousands, the conspiracy theory becomes patently absurd. In any case, banning the Communist Party will not quiet the troubled nerves of the red-baiters or the uneasy consciences of erstwhile liberals. On the contrary, it will only lead to demands for more drastic action. Logically, how can we continue to maintain diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union which directs "the criminal conspiracy"

MR. CELLER: I believe when you seek to outlaw the Communist Party, to use the language of the President, you are "shooting from the hip." The President opposed its outlawing. If we can outlaw the Communist Party, there is no reason why, if the Republicans are in control, they could not outlaw the Democratic Party. And, vice versa, if the Democrats were in control, they could outlaw the Republican Party. I don't like that part of the bill which outlaws the party. It is palpably unconstitutional.

—Congressional Record
*August 16, 1954, p. 13836*

which is the Communist Party of the United States? If the Soviet Union is indeed the chief conspirator, then it should not be permitted—under the illusion of logic—to retain membership in the United Nations. And we now know that the gravediggers in Washington are not to be trusted; they will, in all likelihood, give panicky approval to measures even more extreme than the one they have just adopted.

President Eisenhower should be urged to veto the measure which now awaits his signature. True, he hinted that he favored such a measure in his state-of-the-union message but the President has not hesitated to reverse himself nor has he hesitated to "veto" the mistakes of his assistants. He has vetoed Mr. Dulles on several important occasions and he vetoed Mr. Brownell's campaign of slander against Mr. Truman. More important, the President has indicated in recent statements, particularly those of August 5 and 11, that he now favors a live-and-let-live policy, the policy of the good partner and the good neighbor. If he does, then he should veto this bill forthwith. If he fails to veto it, he too will fall victim to the illusion of logic. For he will then be asked to sever diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and having said A, he will find it difficult not to say B, and after B, comes C, and D, and somewhere along the line



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of this illusory logic is the ultimate, an H-bomb war with the Soviet Union. According to Arthur Krock, the President is said to have referred to this latest anti-Communist legislation as "the worst can of worms I ever received." It is that. Let him return the can to the Senate without delay, worms and all. And let the responsible Democratic leadership, specifically Mr. Truman and Mr. Stevenson, make it clear that Senator Humphrey acted without their knowledge or approval in engineering this putsch against civil liberties.

# A MURDER A DAY

## New York Discovers Crime . . *by Leslie Slote*

"THIS city is on the verge of becoming a community of violence and crime." It was New York's Police Commissioner, Francis W. H. Adams, who made this grim appraisal of the situation after he had been in office only six months. In a television appearance on Sunday, August 1, Commissioner Adams calmly predicted that before the day was over one New Yorker would be murdered and another would have died as the result of criminal negligence; 27 persons would be feloniously assaulted, 3 women would be raped, 140 New York homes and businesses would be burglarized, the cars of 40 New Yorkers would be stolen, 69 grand larcenies would take place, and 31 citizens would be held up and robbed on the streets. According to Mr. Adams, this was "an average day." What disturbed him more was the fact that in the first six months of this year major crimes increased 11 per cent over the first half of last year.

Crime is so rampant, if one is to believe the Police Commissioner, because there are not enough policemen. In 1932, he pointed out, there were 19,315 uniformed police, 500 fewer than today; but since 1932 the city's population has increased by more than a million. Moreover, the reduction of the police work week since 1932 is equivalent to the loss of 4,000 men. To make up the deficiency of man-power Mr. Adams has asked for 7,000 more men. This would cost the city about $28,000,000. He has also asked for salary increases for all policemen. Attempting to account for the city's failure to provide adequate police protection, Mr. Adams said, "Over the last two decades there have been enormous popular pressures on government for expansion of social services. This expansion has inevitably been at the expense of the basic community requirements like police service."

Public reaction to the Adams speech was immediate and sympathetic. Official reaction was another thing. Mayor Wagner was occupied the next day with a reception for Syngman Rhee, and not until 6:45 that evening were City Hall reporters able to phone their papers that the Mayor too was against crime and intended to do something about it. On Tuesday the newspapers reported mass arrests of "undesirables" in Times Square and other trouble spots. Both the Mayor and Mr. Adams then left town for a week's vacation.

Taking off from the Adams speech, the tabloids now began to feature "crime." The staid New York *Times* broke a long tradition of playing down crime by devoting columns to local crime news. The Associated Press sent out a box-score to determine the accuracy of Adams's predictions. Four leading clergymen praised the Police Commissioner for his "candor and courage." With the exception of the *Post* and the *Daily Worker* newspaper editorials supported his demand for more men.

Acting Mayor Abe Stark, president of the City Council, expressed apprehension that the Adams speech might create "public panic which could do irreparable harm to the greatest city in the world." He politely noted that perhaps the Police Commissioner had painted too melodramatic a picture. What was needed, he said, was more boys' clubs, not just more police—Stark founded the Brownsville Boys' Club in a section of Brooklyn that spawned several members of the now defunct Murder, Inc. The *Daily News* remarked, "Let's have less of this fuzzy thinking and talking for awhile."

The practice of rounding up "undesirables" was attacked by the New York Civil Liberties Union as a "violation of the due-process provisions of the Constitution." Adams replied that the arrests were "in no sense indiscriminate and were well founded." The New York *Times* had previously reported that five youths arrested by the police in Times Square during a round-up proved they were members of a baseball team who had come to see a movie.

An analysis by reporters showed that of 131 persons arrested during one round-up, 21 were fined, 23 committed, 34 given suspended sentences, and 4 acquitted; 17 cases were adjourned and 19 dismissed. At the end of the first week of raids the New York *Post* reported that the police had "bagged a regiment of beggars"—more than a thousand men had been pulled in for a

*LESLIE SLOTE has covered various departments of the city government as a reporter for the past seven years.*

### Making the Community

Men require two things, not one, for the full life as we conceive it today: (1) commodities and (2) communities. In the emphasis on producing the commodities, we have forgotten that it also requires thought and effort to make communities. It may have been true once that healthy communities just grew —although evidence casts doubt on the suggestion—certainly it is not true now. The task of every society, then, is twofold: to produce commodities *and* to develop communities.—*Jerome F. Scott and R. P. Lynton in "The Community Factor in Modern Technology," a report for UNESCO.*



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variety of petty offenses—but failed to come up with a single arrest for a serious crime. While the headlines screamed about hoodlums, the police made the biggest haul of bootblacks in years.

On August 12 the *Daily News,* the newspaper with the largest circulation in the country, ran the first of two articles headed "Pinks Help Punks to Nip Cop Drive." The article began, "Underground forces are already at work to sabotage the police drive to end the terror in the streets." It went on to quote "a high police official" as saying, "Right now the people are frightened and feel the police should take drastic action, but already there is some reaction—the Civil Liberties Union is complaining because we picked up a few loiterers on suspicion, the *Daily Worker* has big headlines attacking the clean-up." Upon inquiry no high police official cared to take credit for the *News* statement. The second article accused Mr. Stark of "parroting the liberal line" by advocating boys' clubs instead of police clubs.

By the time the Mayor got back from his brief vacation he was on the spot. Ever since taking office last January he has been claiming that there is no "fat" in the city's $1,600,000,000 budget to provide new services. Every dollar was allocated, he asserted. If he suddenly "found" money now to employ 7,000 more policemen there would be no end of embarrassment. But if he did nothing to increase police protection, he would have an aroused public to contend with. He had to act.

First he placed the blame for the inadequacy of the police force on the failure of Dewey's Republican-controlled state legislature to grant the city greater taxing powers. Dewey immediately branded the charge "politically motivated" and cited a report from the state comptroller showing that the city had adequate reserve funds to hire more policemen. Next Wagner announced that he would propose a $125 uniform allowance for policemen. This would cost the city about $2,500,000 to be obtained through "belt-tightening" and the transfer of funds from other municipal activities.

STRANGELY silent through all this crime excitement has been the Mayor's chief adviser, City Administrator Luther Gulick, whose $30,000-a-year salary is second only to the Mayor's on the city pay roll. Wagner's first major appointee, Dr. Gulick is on leave from his post as director of the Institute of Public Administration, the acting director being Bruce Smith, acclaimed as an international police expert. Dr. Gulick left the institute several years ago to direct the $2,200,000 study of city agencies for the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey, a study carried on through the O'Dwyer and Impellitteri administrations. Two years ago Smith conducted a survey of the police department and at that time saw no need to enlarge it. In fact, he hinted that the force could be cut down by proper utilization of personnel. But all this is now forgotten, as is the $85,000 check Smith picked up for his work.

Also silent is the usually vociferous Citizens' Budget Commission, whose counsel, Harold Riegelman, was the Republicans' unsuccessful candidate for mayor last November. The commission has hinted darkly that the city can save $50,000,000 through "economies," in this context a euphemism for "layoffs."

No matter from what angle you view the police situation in New York, it is cause for serious concern. Adams has had the courage to do what no police commissioner before him ever did—admit that the crime problem is on the verge of getting out of control. No one doubts his sincerity. He has already instituted long-needed reforms in a department whose procedures date back to 1845, when it had a force of 800. But the crime problem is too big to be solved by simple enforcement of the law. The aid of city planners, housing experts, educators, and sociologists must be enlisted. It will take great vision on the part of the Wagner administration to effect any improvement. The Police Commissioner has thrown down the gauntlet.

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# KRISHNA MENON

## Architect of Peace . . . *by Sam A. Jaffe*

AN ELDERLY woman embarking recently on her first trans-Atlantic flight, asked the stewardess if the plane carried anyone of importance. "Why, yes," the stewardess replied, pointing toward a tall, lean gentleman with a bushy head of hair, "that's V. K. Krishna Menon, India's representative at the United Nations." Two years ago, before Krishna Menon assumed his United Nations post, he would not have been considered a celebrity, but in his comparatively short term of service he has come to the forefront of international diplomacy. If his acid tongue and his unfriendly manner have made him more enemies than friends, his most severe critics admit that he has a keen mind, a compassionate heart, and a single purpose—to establish peace among men.

Only a few weeks after taking his seat in the U. N. General Assembly, Krishna Menon presented a plan to that body which ultimately brought peace in Korea. His plan for Indo-China, announced by Nehru shortly before the Geneva conference opened, is believed to have helped break the deadlock of the earlier sessions. A New York *Times* dispatch spoke of the "notable behind-the-scenes role" he played in the Geneva talks. He was also India's representative at the

*SAM A. JAFFE, New York writer and editor, recently returned from four years in the Far East.*



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New Delhi conference of the three nations named to supervise the armistice in Indo-China—Canada, Poland, and India.

For all his brilliance and idealism, Krishna Menon is probably one of the most difficult men to get along with in world affairs today. He is disliked even by most high officials in his own government. He has no political following in India, but he may shortly be named Minister without Portfolio in Nehru's Cabinet and will head India's delegation at the coming session of the U. N. Assembly. He has been in Parliament only since 1952. His recent rise is apparently due largely to the backing of the Prime Minister. It is well known in India that since the two men first met in London in 1935, Nehru has insisted that Menon reflects the spirit of Indian foreign policy more faithfully than anyone else. The bond between the two is said to be an intellectual one. Nehru admires Menon's dialectical skill and his ability to expound the essential elements of a vital issue. Some say that Krishna Menon is Nehru's "brain trust." But Nehru also sees Menon as an Indian revolutionary of the 1920's, a man who has renounced material things, a true follower of Gandhi.

Both men maintain that diplomacy is not a matter of silk hats and protocol but of straightforward language based on facts. As Nehru said in an address before the Indian Congress, "International affairs are not the concern of a select coterie of diplomats today. They must be understood . . . by the general public—not perhaps all their intricate details but the policies that lie behind them."

Though Nehru considers Menon particularly gifted in analyzing international problems, he too is sometimes displeased by his bluntness. On a Philadelphia radio show Menon made the statement—and resolutely defends it to this day—that by bombing power plants along the Yalu River in North Korea the United States had sabotaged his Korean peace plan. He also charged that the United States was responsible for bringing Red China into the Korean war by crossing the Thirty-eighth Parallel. Washington lodged an informal protest over the incident with the Indian government, and from Nehru came word that "Krishna Menon does not speak for India on every occasion." Nehru undoubtedly agreed with Menon. What he objected to was the timing of the remarks, which indicated a lack of discretion on his representative's part.

There is a good deal of speculation in diplomatic circles as to the extent of Menon's influence on Indian foreign policy. Undoubtedly his ideas are taken into consideration and often acted upon. Persons close to Nehru say that Menon originates the ideas and works out the details, but that Nehru alone makes the final decisions. Menon maintains he acts only on instructions from Nehru. His friends say he could take advantage of his standing with Nehru but never does. Though the matter is rarely mentioned, many New Delhi statesmen feel certain that some day—but not in the immediate future—Menon will replace Nehru as Foreign Minister.

AMERICANS call Krishna Menon "pro-Communist," but the Russians believe he is in the Western camp. When he proposed his now famous Korean peace plan, the Russians accused him of speaking for the United States, and Henry Cabot Lodge called it "a splendid and sincere effort of peace." But when he asked the Assembly to consider outlawing atomic and hydrogen bombs, he was attacked for repeating Russia's proposal to prohibit atomic weapons. The truth appears to be that he thinks neither East nor West is right. He wants above all to bring the nations together and therefore feels he must stand in the middle, leaning slightly one way or the other as the situation demands. If he shows any partiality, it is for those who are oppressed and enslaved. He is often called a "man of mystery," perhaps because people think there must be some ulterior motive behind such single-minded devotion to peace.

Some persons say that if Menon were really sincere he would answer those who accuse him of being anti-American. "And why does he continue to criticize America and not Russia?" they ask. In a recent interview he did offer a partial defense. "If you honestly pursue a purpose, criticism is inevitable," he said. "Actually, I have never criticized the United States' internal policy. I have been asked, for example, what I think of the Negro problem in America. I refrain from answering. That does not concern me. My job is to deal with questions which arise in the U. N. I am not here to correct the whole world. It's really a small matter who dislikes whom as long as the job gets done." "If I went around contradicting everything that is said about me I'd have time for nothing else," he once remarked. But he believes in setting the record straight when matters of importance are at stake. "If, for example, my entry into your country depended on my saying whether or not I was a Communist, I would of course say no."

What we Americans take as criticism, Menon calls "airing the facts." He admits he has made "excited observations," but says we must learn to take them in our stride. Confident of the correctness of his position he does not hesitate to speak his mind: "What I have to say is not meant for today, or for next year, but for a generation or more hence when people are ready to accept what today they criticize."

The force behind Menon's quest for peace can only be guessed at. He is far from a pious man, though his family were devout Hindus and he was undoubtedly influenced by the Hindu doctrine of non-violence. Nothing in his past explains his devotion to the downtrodden. Brought up in middle-class surroundings, he passed most of his youth in India. When he was twenty-seven he went to England and spent the next ten years absorbing Western knowledge. At the London School of Economics his teacher was Harold Laski, who is said to have had a tremendous influence on his political beliefs.

In 1929 he became secretary of the India League, a little-known organization which preached India's independence. With the help of Menon, friends recall, the League grew in prominence. In later years when it became a power, some persons tagged it a Communist front. Actually it was a thorn in the side of the Communists, for though it demanded self-government for India it wanted India to stay within the framework of the Commonwealth. India's Communists have repeatedly denounced this tie.

The friends Menon made during his years in London—Lord and Lady Mountbatten, Lee Smith, Lord Pethick Lawrence, and others—recall his ascetic way of living, which he still holds to.



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He is a strict vegetarian, a teetotaler, and does not smoke. His only vice is his consumption of innumerable cups of tea.

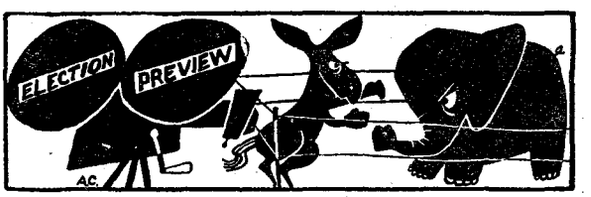
In 1934, while writing for the India League and editing the Twentieth Century Library and Pelican Books, Menon was elected by the Labor Party to the Borough Council of St. Pancras, London. Five years later he was Labor's candidate for member of Parliament, but in 1940 he resigned from the party because of its refusal to back Indian independence. He rejoined four years later when it changed its stand.

One of Nehru's first acts as Prime Minister was to send Menon to the United Nations. A year later, in 1947, he was appointed Indian High Commissioner in London. With Nehru he took part in the Hindu-Moslem talks with England. After the conference he visited the capitals of Europe establishing diplomatic relations for India. In 1949 he became Minister to Ireland, and in 1952 he was again assigned to the U. N. as a member of the Indian delegation.

THE KEY to Menon's future actions may be found in his belief that nothing is predetermined. He feels the world must try to make the best of its problems. Friendships can be developed among nations and thereby peace can be achieved. "But more than talk is needed," he says. "You must have a peaceful approach to problems. Through a peaceful approach you create peaceful conditions. You can't win friends by giving advice: the only way to give advice is to set an example."

A recent visitor to the United Nations asked Menon if he believed in the theory of coexistence. "How else can you exist?" he replied. "Everything coexists. The world is a compulsory society, of course. In so-called coexistence one must take into account a society of national governments. Divergences of opinion are only natural within that society. When a child grows up it has to have a separate room, but in the same house. This is a form of family coexistence. In international society the only alternative to mutual extermination is to learn to live together. Coexistence is a stilted expression for something the world has always known."

# GLEN TAYLOR




## Rides Again . . . *by William G. Carleton*

*Boise, Idaho*

THAT former Senator Glen Taylor, who bolted in 1948 to run with Henry A. Wallace on the Progressive ticket, could win the Democratic nomination for United States Senator in Idaho underscores the liberal trend which has manifested itself in many of the spring and summer primaries. Taylor had been away from Idaho since he failed to be renominated in 1950, working as a carpenter in California; he had virtually no money with which to wage a campaign; the Democratic organization in Idaho was strongly against him. He owes his victory to his supporters among the miners and lumber workers of northern Idaho, to the labor vote in industrial Pocatello, to his shrewd appeal to under-dog psychology, to his picturesque campaign methods, and to the fact that the conservative vote against him was split between two candidates.

Although Taylor dwelt on the disadvantages of the Benson farm program to Idaho farmers, his chief emphasis was on American foreign policy, and it is this that makes his victory significant. In every campaign speech he castigated the Administration's foreign policy for being too conservative, asserting that it was alienating the world's liberal elements and even our traditional allies. In his view it should concentrate more on constructive programs of aid to underdeveloped peoples—long-term loans and grants for their agricultural and industrial development. That took courage in a candidate for high political office in the United States today.

In Montana the Republicans are planning an aggressive campaign against Senator James E. Murray, whose long record in the Senate has been consistently New Deal and pro-labor. Eisenhower, Nixon, Halleck, and other party leaders are expected to speak in the state for Representative Wesley D'Ewart, Murray's opponent. D'Ewart is running as an Eisenhower Republican, although his record in Congress is largely anti-Eisenhower and he is an advocate of the Bricker amendment. Instructions have gone down to the Republican county organizations to focus the campaign on Murray's alleged "softness" to Communists. However, Murray's Catholicism makes him virtually impervious to such an attack.

D'Ewart's record is almost 100 per cent anti-labor, and Murray is expected to carry Butte and other mining centers by big majorities. Murray is also expected to benefit from the farmers' opposition to the Benson program. A national poll shows more opposition to the Benson program among Montana farmers than among those of any other state. The large cattle men are split, the smaller cattle men are opposed, and the wheat farmers are overwhelmingly opposed.

Murray's main issue will be federal electric power. In Montana people consider Murray the father of the federal dam at Canyon Ferry and believe he saved from the power trust the Havre-Shelby transmission lines out of Fort Peck Dam. Murray is now fighting for additional federal power development at Yellowtail Dam in southeastern Mon-

*WILLIAM G. CARLETON, professor of political science at the University of Florida, has been traveling through the West on the search for political trends. In last week's issue he discussed the decline of the reactionary splinter groups in the Southwest.*



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tana and at Libby Dam in the northwest, which he charges the Eisenhower Administration is blocking. Murray's lieutenants also claim that his defeat would be taken by the Eisenhower Administration as a go-ahead signal to turn over many federal transmission lines to private power companies.

All shades of opinion in Montana are predicting Murray's reelection.

IN OREGON, for the first time in decades, the Democrats have a chance to win a United States Senatorship. The Democratic candidate this year is State Senator Richard L. Neuberger. Because

Berger

*Richard L. Neuberger*

of his writings in national and local periodicals, Neuberger is actually better known over the state than his Republican opponent, incumbent Senator Guy Cordon. He has developed into an effective public speaker, which his opponent is not, and is sharply attacking Cordon as the Republican who is "masterminding the looting of our national resources in oil, timber, and electric power." Neuberger charges that "Cordon and the other reddy-kilowatt twin, Secretary McKay, have conducted a bargain-basement sale of Bonneville transmission lines to the California-Oregon Power Company" and that as a result electric rates in the Klamath Falls area have already jumped 16 per cent. He is also hitting the Co. Ellsworth timber bill as "a shameless raid on our national forests."

Republicans are fighting hard to save Cordon. He is being given credit for all federal patronage and for projects allocated to the state by the Eisenhower Administration. Secretary McKay is scheduled to make many campaign speeches in Oregon, but observers believe he has little prestige in his home state, even among Republicans. The A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. have indorsed Neuberger.

The political future of Senator Wayne Morse is much discussed. It is generally felt that Morse can be reelected in 1956 if he can obtain a party nomination. His problem is to get such a nomination. He is still registered as a Republican in his home town of Eugene, but it is very doubtful that he can win a Republican nomination. The consensus is that he will be nominated by the Democrats and then win reelection with the help of his personal following in the Republican Party. Meanwhile Neuberger and Morse are drawing closer together personally and politically, and in Oregon many are predicting that if Neuberger wins the senatorship this year and thus breaks the ice, Morse will later announce himself a Democrat.

IN WASHINGTON, where there is no election for governor or United States Senator this year, Democrats hope to reelect their Congressman-at-large and to regain their pre-1952 Congressional seats in the Everett district and in the Seattle-Bremerton district, where liberal Hugh Mitchell is seeking a come-back. In the Seattle district the Democrat will be pitted against a liberal Eisenhower Republican Congressman who is credited with having obtained important shipbuilding contracts for Bremerton. The campaign of Alice Franklin Bryant in the First District is attracting considerable interest. Mrs. Bryant is running on a straight-out peace program. Both Democrats and Republicans are more conservative in eastern Washington, where there are many prosperous fruit and specialty farmers. (Spokane is as conservative as Seattle is liberal.) Nevertheless, even in eastern Washington, the Democrats are using to apparent advantage the Benson program as it affects wheat farmers and the emasculation of federal electric-power projects.

## Stop the Giveaway!

SOME idea of the disproportion which often exists in campaign funds may be gained from the state of Oregon, where prominent liberals have just completed a detailed study of the money spent by the two major political parties in the elections of 1948, 1950, and 1952.

The Democratic Party spent in behalf of all its candidates and causes in these three campaigns a total of $285,033. The Republican total was $1,315,734.

This year the financial contrast in Oregon is even more noticeable. Richard L. Neuberger, the Democratic nominee for the Senate, is a well-known liberal. He is opposing Old Guard Republican Guy Cordon, the man who sponsored the offshore-oil giveaway. Cordon also led the fight against the Hill oil-for-education bill. The funds available to the Cordon forces in such a contest can only be imagined.

The theme of Neuberger's campaign is opposition to the giveaway of our timber, oil, water-power, and atomic resources. Lyle F. Watts, ex-chief of the United States Forest Service, is chairman of the Neuberger committee. Bernard DeVoto is trying to enlist financial support for Neuberger among the conservationists of the nation. The buttons worn by Neuberger's adherents carry the message: "Stop the Giveaway!"

The Oregon contest between Cordon and Neuberger has been called by Watts "the most decisive for conservation principles in my thirty-eight years as a forester." Cordon has been promoting a bill (S. 85) to let the biggest lumber operators take over choice timber acreage inside the boundaries of the national forests. He also is the author of legislation to allow private power companies to instal their generators in government dams. Neuberger is demanding a return to the program of federal development which Secretary McKay ended in 1953.

Cordon's headquarters has distributed anti-Semitic material about Neuberger which is so offensive that seven small-town daily papers, nearly all of them Republican in tone, have denounced the state's senior Senator for injecting religious bigotry into the campaign.

The address of the Conservationists for Neuberger Committee is 708 Mead Building, Portland 4, Oregon.

EDITORS THE NATION



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# MILESTONES FOR MINERS

## Pensions, Welfare, Hospitals . . *by Ben Pearse*

[*This is the second of a series of articles on some of the great American trade unions which have gone beyond their collective-bargaining function to service their members with welfare programs of tremendous scope.*]

SINCE the war welfare and pension programs have become as much a part of collective-bargaining contracts as wages and hours. Most of those in effect before the war, some of them dating back more than half a century, were set up voluntarily by employers. The employees, whether they contributed or not, seldom had anything to say about their operation. They were managed by trustees named by the employer, and the benefits provided were usually subject to change without notice or employee consent, and might even be eliminated entirely at the employer's discretion.

Many of these systems were based on profit-sharing. In years when a company made no profit, or less than a stipulated amount, it contributed nothing to the retirement fund. Some were heavily weighted in favor of company officials and offered little to rank-and-file workers. A survey conducted by the United Steelworkers of America of more than seven hundred pensioners retired at sixty-five after thirty-five years' service found that their checks averaged about $6 a month. Unions generally looked on pensions as pie in the sky.

During the war, when wages were frozen by war-time restrictions, union negotiators began to ask for a variety of "fringe" benefits, including the establishment or broadening of welfare and retirement plans. Competing in a tight labor market, the companies seldom objected. From 80 to 90 per cent of whatever these benefits cost would have been taken by the government anyhow in excess-profits taxes. The right of unions to bargain collectively for welfare and pension benefits received government sanction when these contracts were approved officially by the Wage Stabilization Board, but it was not recognized legally until 1948, when the United States Supreme Court upheld a National Labor Relations Board ruling that those benefits were a proper subject for collective bargaining, just like wages and hours. Since the programs are established by collective bargaining, they cannot be changed or abolished without union consent, and the union has an equal voice with management in handling their finances.

THE United Mine Workers' Welfare and Retirement Fund, established in 1946 while the mines were under government control, was not the first of these bilateral plans, but it was the largest up to that time and certainly the most publicized. It was set up after an extensive government survey revealed deplorable health conditions in most mining areas. After the mines were turned back to the operators, a series of strikes, suits, and counter-suits culminating in fines against the union totaling $2,100,000 spread word of miners' pensions to the remotest crossroads. What John L. Lewis ultimately won for his miners, other union leaders wanted for their members.

A Department of Labor survey shows that in 1945, before the U. M. W. A. fund was set up, only about one million employees were covered by welfare and pension agreements reached through collective bargaining. By 1950 the number had jumped to more than 7,600,000, and it is still rising. The Internal Revenue Service, which scrutinizes all employer and employer-employee plans carefully before allowing the tax deductions which finance them, recently reported that fewer than 700 had been approved in 1940 and more than 21,000 in 1953. New plans are being approved at the rate of a hundred or two a month.

The U. M. W. A. fund was the first to pay a pension of $100 a month in addition to social-security benefits. Almost all unions hope to achieve this ultimately, and several have already done so. But most plans still consider social-security benefits when reckoning pensions. The U. M. W. A. program was also the first industry-wide plan. Under most union agreements members must work for the same company for from twenty to thirty years to be eligible for a pension. Under the U. M. W. A. plan, a miner may work for a dozen or a hundred different companies and be earning credit toward his pension.

Other firsts include wide coverage for the miner's family and a policy of not limiting bills for hospital or medical care. Most plans pay a doctor's or surgeon's fee up to a certain amount or hospitalization for a stipulated length of time. U. M. W. A. coal miners, among whom serious injuries are only too common, are treated by the best specialists obtainable and hospitalized for six months, a year, or longer, if necessary, with all expenses paid.

Owing to declining production in the anthracite fields in recent years, many of these benefits have had to be discontinued by the Anthracite Health and Welfare Fund, which is maintained as a separate entity by the U. M. W. A. and the anthracite operators. Benefits to the anthracite miners are now restricted to the $500 death gratuity and the $50-a-month pension. But the anthracite fund finances a broad research project on silicosis, seeking a remedy for the dread lung disease that has long been a scourge in the mines. Under this program, carried on at the Barton Memorial Hospital in Philadelphia, more than 1,500 miners have received treatment.

The U. M. W. A. Welfare and Retirement Fund covers the bituminous miners, who make up nine-tenths of the union membership. It now serves more

*BEN PEARSE is a former Washington newspaperman now doing free-lance writing.*



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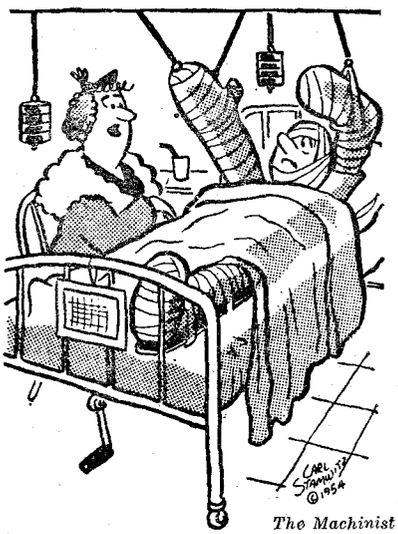



*The Machinist*

*"It's nice that you're finally able to enjoy your union's hospitalization plan."*

than a million men, women, and children—miners and their families—in twenty-two states from Pennsylvania to the Rockies. Its source is a royalty which started at 5 cents a ton and has been raised by stages to 40 cents. This has brought in more than half a billion dollars, approximately $130,000,000 in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1953. Except for administrative costs of less than 3 per cent and a reserve of some $92,000,000 in cash and government bonds, all the money has gone to miners and their families. Actual expenditures last year totaled nearly $139,000,000, about $7,500,000 more than receipts. The difference was paid out of the reserve, accumulated for just such emergencies, but in October, 1952, the royalty was raised from 30 to 40 cents a ton to bring the books in balance.

The three trustees of the fund are John L. Lewis, chairman, representing the miners; Charles A. Owen, representing the coal operators; and Josephine Roche, who until a few years ago was a coal operator herself with a long record of friendly relations with the union. Miss Roche is the "neutral" trustee chosen by the other two and also serves as director of the fund.

The largest single expense is the pension roll, which carries the names of 50,055 retired miners, more than 10 per cent of the U. M. W. A. membership. That is a relatively high proportion. The United Steelworkers of America has less than a third as many names on its pension roll though it has a much larger membership. Last year U. M. W. A. pensioners received about $59,000,000, nearly 45 per cent of the royalty revenues. The principal reasons are that miners can retire at sixty after working twenty years anywhere in the industry, while under most other systems employees cannot retire until they are sixty-five and have worked twenty-five or thirty years for one company.

But fund officials make no apology for the length of the pension roll. Many small companies, they explain, exist for only a few years, perhaps until a seam runs out. Without the industry-wide rule, retirement would be limited to employees of the large companies that have been operating for thirty or forty years. They also point out that coal mining is one of the most hazardous occupations and that twenty years of it is the equivalent of twenty-five or thirty years in almost any other. Despite the hazards and hard work, the $100-a-month pension has induced only one miner in ten to retire voluntarily.

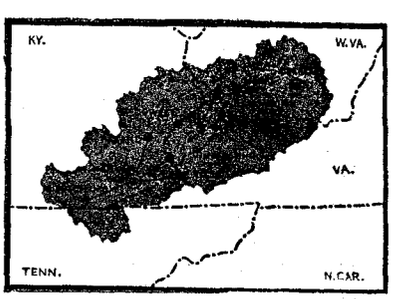
THE medical and hospital program takes the next largest slice of revenues, nearly $56,500,000 last year. Medical services in the coal region, with a few exceptions, were pitifully inadequate when the fund's medical advisory board, then headed by Dr. R. R. Sayers, a former head of the United States Bureau of Mines and a Public Health Service specialist in industrial hygiene, undertook its first survey. Decades of neglect had caused almost unbelievable misery. Some miners had been bedridden for twenty years. Many paraplegics, amputees, and arthritics were so weak they had to be sent to local hospitals to build up their strength before they could be given rehabilitation treatment. The fund considers the money well spent if it can enable men to get out of their beds or wheelchairs and rejoin the circle of their families and friends. For many it does much more, providing training for new jobs that make them self-supporting again. Leonard A. Scheele, surgeon general of the Public Health Service, has paid the fund this tribute: "I know of no single organization in the United States that has had a wider and more successful experience in rehabilitation of the severely disabled during the past five years than the U. M. W. A. Welfare and Retirement Fund."

The medical service is now headed by Dr. Warren F. Draper, a former deputy surgeon general of the Public Health Service, and is administered through ten regional offices, each in charge of a physician. The service does not include home or office visits, except for the severely disabled, but it covers practically everything inside the hospital, including specialists and medicines. Among the 250,000 cases handled last year were the mothers of 25,000 babies, who also received pre- and post-natal guidance.

The fund's administrative cost is the lowest among comparable voluntary health plans. A survey by the Social Security Administration showed that the U. M. W. A. fund spent 97.1 per cent of the money set aside for medical and hospital care on actual benefits to members and their families. In comparison, the survey showed, Blue Cross returned about 90 per cent of premium receipts in benefits to policy-holders; commercial group insurance, 89 per cent; Blue Shield, 84 per cent.

For miners' widows or surviving dependents there is a $1,000 death gratuity. The fund spent $10,500,000 on various benefits to 40,000 widows and survivors last year. About $9,000,000 was paid last year to disabled miners in financial distress. These cash payments to widows and disabled miners, however, were discontinued last March.

Up to two years ago, this account would have covered an average year's activity for the fund. But dissatisfaction with the hospital facilities and medical care available in many coal-mining areas was growing, and the directors finally decided that instead of paying such large fees to inferior hospitals they would build their own. Accordingly the fund undertook to construct ten hospitals in Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky. Well-qualified physicians sufficient to meet the fund's needs could then be induced to practice in the vicinity. With a combined capacity of about 1,000 beds, these hospitals will cost ap-




*U. M. W.'s Hospital Project*



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proximately $15,000,000, probably more before they are completely equipped.

Fund officials calculated that they could obtain the advantages of mass purchasing power and advanced design that would insure the most economical operation by considering all ten hospitals as so many units of one regional project. So instead of retaining ten architects for ten different buildings, they selected three firms which had been closely associated with the latest developments in hospital design and construction. Fund officials and architects then selected one contractor. The results of this client-architect-contractor team relationship proved so outstanding that they inspired a series of articles in the *Architectural Forum*.

The construction schedule calls for completion of the first unit by mid-1955 and of the others during the year. In the final analysis, the hospitals will cost the fund nothing. The $15,000,000 borrowed from the reserve to build them will be repaid over a period of years from the fees now going to the disreputable firetraps that serve the region. Patronage of these will be discontinued as fast as the new buildings are finished.

Since that first nickel dropped into the royalty box of the U. M. W. A. Welfare and Retirement Fund back in 1946, steady progress has been made in improving not only the lives but the life expectancy of coal miners and their families. Of all post-war developments in the labor world, welfare and pension programs are among the happiest.

# END OF A CRAZY WAR

## Indo-China's Morning After . . *by Ernest L. Zaugg*

*Saigon, Indo-China*

THE war is over. It just sort of sagged to a sorry end, petered out like the shouting of a very tired, very intoxicated roisterer.

Saigon, in the south, remains unchanged. It still sleeps at noon. The broad, beautiful streets are deserted. Bamboo shades are drawn low before the sidewalk cafe of the Hotel Continental. Only a few Indian merchants peer lazily through the half-open doors of their shops.

Hanoi, the capital of northern Vietnam, with its twelve million tough little rice peasants, will soon be turned over to Ho Chi-minh. You drive from the airport over the long Doumer bridge to the center of town. The waters of the Red River, swollen with the summer rains, are a muddy red. At the French army press camp you get a last briefing in the usual dull monotone—nothing very interesting except that the Viets have attacked since the cease-fire and hung themselves as usual on the barbed wire of a French fort. There will be an official French protest.

It was a crazy war. Words were big and cheap. The tone was set by the propaganda machine of the French army built up at great expense by Marshal Lattre de Tassigny. Diligent censors put across the official version of events. The grim struggle of Dienbienphu, with all its real suffering and heroism, was built up to flashy Hollywood proportions. The white flags which on the last day of the siege waved in the breeze like Mrs. Murphy's wash were discreetly crossed out by a censor eager to save the honor of France.

THE big disappointment today is the new government of President Ngo Dinh Diem. About him, too, big words were used. General Giap, the Vietminh military leader, was quoted as saying, "There are only two real leaders in Vietnam. One is Ho Chi-minh. The other is Ngo Dinh Diem. There is no room in the country for both." Now it seems that there is only one leader after all—Ho Chi-minh. Governing is something that must be learned. President Diem and his men sulked in their tents throughout the war, waiting for more complete independence from France before joining the fight.

The Committee of Defense which President Diem appointed lasted twenty-four days. It came north before the armistice was signed, determined to fight on and save the north even if the French quit. With complete lack of realism it actually believed the Vietnamese army could fight on alone, and it persuaded President Diem to accept the presidency on the basis of this illusion. The remoteness of these delicate-featured, well-educated men from the mud-caked peasantry seems the most obvious explanation. The committee found that it could not handle even the refugee problem, which was the only job left for it to do.

Nevertheless, all who wanted to see a strong, independent Vietnam free of French colonialist intrigues placed their hopes in the committee and the president, who under different circumstances could have been counted on to be firm with the French. One member of the committee, the ex-journalist and publisher Tran Trung Dung, had never pulled his punches in demanding reforms. The French secret police had blown up his presses and then interned him. With this background he could not get along with the French and had to resign.

The Diem government is a "puritan" government with an exquisite taste for moral subtleties. Every revolution has a tendency toward austerity and moral fanaticism. The Diem people among the Vietnamese nationalists represent this tendency. It would have been stronger if they had been allowed to take power earlier and if the influence of big money had been less corrupting. The government is a good ship of state, but the wind has not yet filled its sails. Ho Chi-minh is running straight down the wind in a spanking breeze.

*ERNEST L. ZAUGG covered the Indo-China war for the World Press Service.*



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The government announced that over a million refugees would leave northern Vietnam for the south to avoid Ho Chi-minh's rule, in the "greatest mass migration in history." More big words! However, a lot of furniture and household equipment was out in the streets for sale in the better section of town. I did not realize the French had so many friends in Hanoi. These were the "gold-plated refugees," those who had made money during the war supplying the French army or administering the provinces. The rice peasants were reluctant to leave their homes or were foiled in the attempt by Viet intrigue or French indifference. The total number of refugees from the north could not have been more than one or two hundred thousand.

SO GREAT is the grief and resentment of the Vietnamese army, or at least of its politically conscious leaders, at the high-handed division of the country into two parts that the French for a while might well have expected to be attacked by their allies. At Tourane eleven French soldiers were killed in an anti-French outburst. The colonial mercenaries from Africa and the foreign legionnaires from everywhere so plagued the Delta population for eight years that they are thoroughly detested by the people. The methods used in this "pacification" have never been described adequately; their "success," however, provides an excellent commentary.

France's Vietnamese allies complain that they are more disliked by the French than are the Viets, the ex-enemy, and there seems to be something in this. The war between the French and the Viets has now been settled by treaties which in general will be respected. The allied Vietnamese, however, when not actually inserting the dagger in the back of the French, are complaining and criticizing. They always hated the French for controlling everything, and the French despised them for their puppetry and the readiness with which they could be won over with a trifling material advantage. Vietnamese students in Paris drank to the victory of Ho Chi-minh at Dienbienphu—but wrote their parents in Hanoi to sell everything and go to Saigon. No one wished to live under the stern discipline of Ho's system.

Vietnamese leaders are now turning with emotional impetuosity toward the United States. They take you aside and pour out their hatred of the French. The French, they claim, would never permit them to speak openly with Americans before. Only pro-French diplomats were allowed to go to Washington. Their relationship with the French was always a colonial one. The bitterness is so great that it makes one reluctant to see the United States play the corespondent in this sordid divorce case and take over France's responsibilities. The price may be high. The French will pay no alimony.

South Vietnam will demand greatly increased economic aid to enable it to compete with the Vietminh paradise of the north. This is a contest which the United States will not want to see lost. But the southern Vietnamese also dream of a united, independent nation, and that is not likely to be accomplished by the elections in prospect two years from now. Despite the treaty of Geneva, they want to build up a strong army with the aid of American instructors and American arms. The Viets in the north will continue to import arms across their long border with China; so the south too must get weapons.

To arouse American interest, Vietnamese leaders conjure up another lover —China. They say that of course they want no truck with China, but that China is eager to embrace them. Four divisions of Chinese, they insist, are in the Red River Delta, plundering the beautiful little Vietnamese villages. And they warn that China has moved down to the Seventeenth Parallel to organize from there an attack on the lush countries of Southeast Asia.

Nobody believes that Ho Chi-minh could ever have mobilized the nationalistic feelings of his people or could keep their loyalty now if he were the puppet of the traditional enemy. However, some disturbing facts support the Vietnamese claims. Ho Chi-minh seems to have developed a form of collaboration with the Chinese which is not too offensive to his people. Though anti-French, the Vietnamese are not anti-foreign. They reject colonialism, but cooperation with foreign countries appeals to them.

From the evidence of the returned prisoners it now seems that there were many more foreign troops, especially Chinese, at the battle of Dienbienphu than was realized. There were probably enough Chinese to turn the tide of battle and to have given Mr. Dulles an excuse to carry out his threats. Like the East Europeans and Germans in the Vietminh army, they were there as Communists. Every soldier wore little badges displaying photographs of Malenkov, Mao Tse-tung, and Ho Chi-minh. Large posters of these leaders were prominently displayed. The Communist character of the Vietminh movement has become more pronounced in recent years.

It is doubtful whether Ho Chi-minh could persuade his people to collaborate closely with the Chinese in joint adventures in Southeast Asia. They remember too well the nationalist Chinese who were here in swarms after World War II. Those Chinese were out to make money. They took the doorknobs off the doors and sent crates of them back to China in airplanes. Are the Communist Chinese different? Or have they come back for the doors?

Only a few Vietnamese leaders talk of regaining the north by force of arms. And those who do, one suspects, would prefer to be somewhere else when the attempt is made. They aspire to posts abroad, especially in Switzerland. They certainly do not have the people behind them. The people are thoroughly sick of the war.

The present leaders will have all they can do to stabilize the situation in the south and prevent the Reds from taking over there. If they succeed, with the help of American arms and funds, they will probably be placed on ice like the South Koreans and the Nationalist Chinese for the eventuality of an all-out war with China and Russia.

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# BOOKS

## Notes from 1900

BY MELVIN H. BERNSTEIN

JOHN JAY CHAPMAN is in unearned eclipse, the victim of a time cycle. Because he was born in New York City in 1862, published about twenty-five books before he died in 1933, and is remembered by a few people of sensibility—college teachers of American literature and editorial writers of *The Nation*—there will appear in 1962 a spotty rash of evaluative essays reminding the negligent reader of the worth of Chapman as a personality and artist.

But what is the critical mystique of a centenary? Or of a decade? Or of a *fin de siècle* assessment? According to a friend to whom I put the question, it is ritualism. I prefer to think that it is critical self-hypnosis and the traffic of ignorance between the generations. Do we need centenaries to realize that Thomas Jefferson and John Milton are doctrinal to our times? Shall we have a series of genteel cocktail parties, complete with cover articles in the Sunday supplements, recalling the birthday of Thoreau, who chose jail; of Whittier, whose editorial offices were burned by mobs; of Garrison, who came and went in the dark to avoid his ardent haters. Let us be done with artificial commemorations! Let us anticipate anniversaries!

Here are some Chapman observations from "Practical Agitation," published fifty-four years ago:

Every one condemns the independent because he violates the thumb rule which slovenly thinkers regard as a summary of all political philosophy: "Between two evils choose the least."

Words like "courage," "honesty," "independence," "pledge," "loyalty" pass current like clipped coin in the language of politics; and the keying up of words to their Biblical value brings out one man a thief and the next a hypocrite.

[Advice on fighting a political machine:] Do not think you are wasting your time, even if no one joins. The prejudice against the individual is part of the evil you are fighting.

There is always great difficulty in this world as to who shall bell the cat; but conventions of mice do not further the matter. The way to do it is for a parcel of mice to take their political lives in their hands and proceed to do it.

An election is like a flash of lightning at midnight. You get an instantaneous photograph of what every man is doing. You see his real relation toward his government. But an election happens only once a year. Government goes on day and night.

Our system of party government has been developed with the aim of keeping the control in the hands of professionals. Technicalities have been multiplied, and the rules of the game have become more and more complex. There exists, consequently, an unformulated belief that the corruption of politics is something by itself.

We have really found out two things: first, that in order to have better government, the talk and private intelligence upon which it rests must be going forward all the time; and second, that the individual conscience, intelligence, or private will is always set free by the same process—to wit, by the telling of truth.

Social punishment is the one cruel reality, the one terrible weapon, the one judgment against which lawyers cannot protect a man. It is as silent as theft, and it raises the cry of "Stop thief!" like a burglar alarm.

You must talk facts, you must name names, you must impute motives. You must say what is in your mind. . . . If you are not strong enough to face the issue in private life, do not dream that you can do anything for public affairs.

Such men as Wendell Phillips were not extravagant. They were practical men. Their business was to get heard.

*John Jay Chapman*

They used vitriol, but they were dealing with the hide of a rhinoceros.

The real injury to intellect is not done in the editorial sanctum. It is done in the mind of the writer who himself attempts to cater to the prejudice of others.

The newspaper trade, as now conducted, is prostitution. It mows down the boys as they come from the colleges. It defaces the very desire for truth and leaves them without a principle to set a clock by. They grow to disbelieve in the reality of ideas.

I have never heard any argument given against the wisdom of righteousness, except the existence of evil.

The business world is all one organization. It is a sort of secret society, a great web. No matter where you touch it, the same spiders come out.

"Use or lose," says Nature when she gives us capacities. What you condone, you support; what you neglect, you confirm.

People who love soft methods and hate iniquity forget this—that reform consists in taking a bone from a dog.

In a martial age the reformer is called a mollycoddle; in a commercial age, an incompetent, a disturber of values; in a fanatical age, a heretic. If an agitator is not reviled, he is a quack.

*MELVIN H. BERNSTEIN is a member of the faculty of Alfred University.*



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Liberty and democracy are thought to be such worthy ends that we must obtain them by any means and all means, even by hiring mercenaries. Can we wonder that in the past men's minds were staggered by the importance of a papacy or of some dynastic succession? Today everybody jumps to shield vice because it is called republicanism or democracy. The irony of history could go no further.

# The "Inferno" as an English Poem

*DANTE'S INFERNO.* Translated in Verse by John Ciardi. Rutgers University Press. $4.50.

## By Richmond Lattimore

MR. CIARDI'S new translation of the "Inferno" is accompanied by an introduction by Archibald T. McAllister. Each canto is preceded by a fairly full précis of the contents and followed by two or three pages of notes. All such supplementary material is useful and well placed.

The translation itself is in plain, simple English, meant to reproduce an original style which is seen as "sparse, direct, and idiomatic." The rhyme represents a compromise. Instead of either attempting to reproduce *terza rima* in English (like Binyon) or forgoing rhyme altogether (like Longfellow), Ciardi leaves the middle lines of each tercet entirely unrhymed, but rhymes the first and third lines with each other. Also, as he explains in his prefatory note, he has "not hesitated to use a deficient rhyme when the choice seemed to lie between forcing an exact rhyme and keeping the language more natural." Nearly all translators who use rhyme in English have done this, but few say so. The metrical line is, of course, five-beat iambic, but like his original, Ciardi is very free with slurred unstressed extra syllables.

Such are the main principles of form. As for matter, Ciardi does not feel restricted to "word-for-word equivalents." "What must be saved . . . is the total feeling of the complex, its *Gestalt*." His statement here, a difficult one to make, is not altogether illuminating, and in practice there are times when he lapses by being too free. For instance, at 18:1-3 (I quote by canto and line) the translation reads:

There is in Hell a vast and sloping ground
called Malebolge, a lost place of stone
as black as the great cliff that seals it round.

Here he loses Dante's vital descriptive word *ferrigno;* the place was seen as colored with iron, not black. Nevertheless, this is a real translation, not a free version.

What we have, then, is Dante translated with reasonable fidelity into an English poem which swings along at a good pace, which is plainer than most English versions and easier to understand. The rhyme is unobtrusive but it is there, and helps. It does not make Ciardi stiff and tortuous, as Binyon's amazing triple-rhymed tour de force sometimes makes Binyon (but Binyon gains from his rhyme scheme more than he loses). Ciardi leans over backward to avoid forced inversions, and he abjures "poetical" words like Longfellow's "champaign," "aught," "yesternight," and the like. His translation is certainly the raciest I have seen, and his treatment of Dante's more ribald passages—like Malacoda and his minions, Cantos 21 and 22—is frank and forthright. Ciardi betrays some uneasiness over this (in a note, pp. 187-88), but his moderate use of four-letter words seems perfectly justified. There are, however, some unnecessary lapses into a truly prosaic tone, as (11:10-15):

Before we travel on to that blind pit
we must delay until our sense grows used
to its foul breath, and then we will not mind it,

my Master said. And I then: "Let us find
some compensation for the time of waiting."
And he: "You shall see I have just that in mind."

Ciardi's ear is by no means perfect. The line (5:58)

She is Semiramis of whom the tale is told

has six unmistakable beats; there is no way to read it as of five times plus grace-notes. More often the lines run short, as (13:151-52):

I am one who has no tale to tell:
I made myself a gibbet of my own lintel.

Or (17:43-45):

Their eyes burst with their grief; their smoking hands
jerked about their bodies, warding off
now the flames and now the burning sands.

English iambic as well as Italian will stand a great deal of hard handling, but the line should have elements in it which *respond* to slurring or lengthening. The above lines—and a surprising number like them have been let through—seem to me to have neither music nor character but to be simply awkward. Still, the pace throughout is good, and the whole poem-in-translation is better than its details. Ciardi is perhaps weakest in classical passages, like the lovely simile-inclosing-metaphor which opens Canto 24; strongest where there is strong action or emotion to communicate. It is only fair to end by showing what he can do at his best (5:67-93):

As they whirled above
he pointed out more than a thousand shades
of those torn from the mortal life by love.

I stood there while my Teacher one by one
named the great knights and ladies of dim time;
and I was swept by pity and confusion.

At last I spoke: "Poet, I should be glad
to speak a word with those two swept together
so lightly on the wind and still so sad."

And he to me: "Watch them. When next they pass,
call to them in the name of love that drives
and damns them here. In that name they will pause."

Thus, as soon as the wind in its wild course
brought them around, I called: "O wearied souls!
if none forbid it, pause and speak to us."

As mating doves that love calls to their nest
glide through the air with motionless raised wings,
borne by the sweet desire that fills each breast—

Just so those spirits turned on the torn sky
from the band where Dido whirls across the air;
such was the power of pity in my cry.

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*RICHMOND LATTIMORE, professor of Greek at Bryn Mawr, has published translations of Pindar, the "Iliad," and several Greek tragedies.*



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# "Tampering with Nature"

*TOMORROW IS ALREADY HERE.* By Robert Jungk. Translated by Marguerite Waldman. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

## By David Cort

WITH a ruffle of eschatological drums, this book describes the anti-human hell that applied science has created in modern America.

On first review, the reporting seems as honest as it is sensational: a rocket at White Sands, the Strategic Air Force headquarters in Nebraska, a jet-plane test, a uranium boom town, an atomic-project boom town, Los Alamos itself, the atomic ovens of Richland, and then such milder marvels as Imperial Valley and an artificial insemination station. Hardly anyone could fail to learn something here.

Only the book's thesis seems dubious at first: "The Americans today are concerned with bigger things than . . . the mastery of continents. America is striving to win power over the sum total of things. . . . The stake is higher than dictators' seats. . . . The stake is the throne of God." This vicarious boast must make any American say, "Who? Me?" even though it seems to flatter him. For, restated, it defines America's *sin against the Holy Ghost* as "tampering with nature."

This "strange and dangerous" sin is documented with material which wherever it is examined closely reveals a rich vein of error. Mr. Jungk says with assurance that Imperial Valley (below sea level) is menaced by an overland flood from the Gulf of California to the south. Actually, though the whole subject is still rather mysterious, the immediate threat seems to be the rise of the waters of Salton Sea to the north, presumably from subterranean sources.

In the brief atomic section an atomic expert quickly found about thirty misstatements, large and small. (Some of these may have been born in translation and editing, such as the mention—page 71—of beds of uranium with percentages of pitchblende. This is of course exactly backward, like Imperial Valley.) However, the whole subject of radioactivity is here bathed in a nightmare glare of exaggeration to the 100th power. The author seems unaware of the half-life feature of radioactivity. When he makes it "slave energies" for Buckminster Fuller's "energy slaves," one wonders whether everything is backward.

The final chapters on business-personnel tests and industrialization techniques are the best and most provocative in a book that is radioactive with satire. They deserve far lengthier discussion than can be given here.

The thesis that "tampering with nature" is evil, however, compels a word. Milking a cow and boiling a potato are also "tampering with nature." America can no more scrap its new tools than the rest of the world can allow us to do so. The legitimate horror inspired by the atom bomb calls for the notation that death by arrows or crucifixion is neither more nor less moral than death by atomic blast. Indeed, Hiroshima can count itself lucky that it was not one of the cities of Kharesmia when Genghis Khan's horsemen rode off, leaving not one human being alive.

As an American one must have misgivings about the publication of this book this year in eleven countries.

Nevertheless, Americans at least should read and ponder it. Even its misinformation and sensationalism do not take it as far from the ascertainable truth as much that is published in respectable American magazines.

*DAVID CORT has been foreign editor of* Life *and feature editor of the* United Nations World. *He is the author of "The Big Picture," a current Nation's Choice selection, and other books.*

# New Books in Brief

## The Facts About Us

*AMERICAN WAYS OF LIFE.* By George R. Stewart. Doubleday. $3.95.

In his popular "Storm," "Fire," and "U. S. 40" Mr. Stewart invented a sort of fictional analogue of the documentary film. The present book—based partly on Fulbright lectures given in Greece—does not exactly follow that formula but is again based upon lots of simple concrete facts. There is little or no "ideology," only an attempt to state in broad general terms how Americans eat, dress, house, and amuse themselves; what words they use, what churches they go to, and (of course) what their sexual habits are. In each case Mr. Stewart tries to indicate to what extent any feature of our *mores* has been determined by (1) what the colonists imported, (2) what was introduced by non-English groups, and (3) what the Indian and the special conditions of the North American continent are responsible for. A curious fact is that the influence of one or another of these factors has been so much more important in certain departments than in others. Until the comparatively recent trend toward informal costume travelers from abroad seldom saw anything in our dress to provoke comment. On the other hand our food, drink, and language took on national characteristics early, and most of them have persisted. Mr. Stewart is descriptive rather than critical and draws no startling conclusions. His book makes entertaining reading none the less and will feed the modern appetite for facts about anything and everything.

## Unmarried Mothers

*THE UNMARRIED MOTHER IN OUR SOCIETY.* By Sara B. Edlin. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.

Sara Edlin's story is a beautiful true tale of kindness, warmth, and tolerance toward those young women who give children to society, to us all, without benefit of marriage. Yet it is not a story to exact maudlin sympathy. It is told with a dignity, purpose, and helpfulness that reveal the author's deep understanding and rare personality. Miss Edlin recognizes her charges' need of protection during their stay in the Lakeview home for girls and regrets society's slowness to accept, whole-heartedly, the unmarried mother and her child. She answers straightforwardly the many questions that have been put to her during her forty years at Lakeview. What type of girl comes there? What does the average girl think about the man involved? Do the mothers want to keep the babies? What becomes of the babies? Miss Ed-



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lin's answers to some of these questions, and to others, have changed through the years. Her present answers and her previous ones are well worth thinking about.

## Guerrillas in the Jungle

*JUNGLE GREEN.* By Arthur Campbell, M. C. Little, Brown and Company. $4.

An account of the adventures of a British company of young soldiers engaged in hunting down Communist "bandits" in Malaya. The author, a professional British officer, is no great shakes as a writer and his stiff-upper-lip manner is sometimes unintentionally humorous. Nevertheless, his descriptions of marches and ambushes are often exciting and he succeeds in communicating something of the horrors of this kind of guerrilla warfare, in which the first and not the least deadly enemy to be overcome is the steaming, stinking, insect-infested jungle itself.

## "Housebreaking" the Church

*RELIGION BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN.* By George N. Shuster. Macmillan. $4.

The president of Hunter College of New York, a leading Catholic layman, provides a close look at the Communist war on religion. Since a good proportion of East Europeans are Catholic, the book deals primarily with the persecution of the Catholic church and its leaders. Its theme is that the church was doomed "not only because it professed a spiritual view of life at odds with dialectical materialism but also because it was an obstacle to the full and unrestricted use of human beings." This thesis is not wholly persuasive. The fact is that in East Europe the church in general—and particularly the Catholic church—has always been deeply involved in politics: it was at least economically interested in preserving the pre-Red status quo, and it fought the Communist regimes openly and sometimes effectively. No totalitarian regime could have ignored such a challenge, for instance, as that presented to the Hungarian Communists by Cardinal Mindszenty and the Catholic press. As a matter of practical politics, the Communists had to "housebreak" the church.

There are other flaws in the book. Granting that facts on Eastern Europe are hard to come by, there are still too many errors of fact, doubtful reports, presumably from émigré sources, and regrettable omissions. The author often lapses into sermonese which contains odd undertones. Intellectuals, for instance, might be fascinated by his declaration that "in many parts of the world some version of Marxism is all that the dominant intellectual caste is willing or able to peddle to the masses. . . . God departed from the room in which the professors, the research workers, the improvers, and the artists were talking —departed silently and ominously."

## Light on the Psyche

*THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PERSONALITY.* By Bernard Notcutt. Philosophical Library. $4.75.

To the lay reader who cares to know what psychology has accomplished since the Germans in the nineteenth century tried to make it an exact science this little volume is warmly recommended. The pioneers—Wundt, Fechner, and their fellow-experimentalists—with a worshipful eye on chemistry and physics, strove to exclude from psychology everything which could not be mathematically measured. This meant eliminating intuition and the subjective; ruling out the human, hence non-mechanical and untrustworthy "observer" and indeed avoiding personality itself, since by definition personality is individual, incommensurate, and unique. Mightily, for several generations, this new science of measurement and statistics labored without its presumed subject—*the living man and woman;* and the mountain of unwieldy data gave forth a mouse of understanding. Professor Notcutt calls this mountain "scientism," which, he says, "is to science what the Pharisee is to the man of God." Finally, the effort to make psychology a science, by excluding all that could not be generalized in the same sense as the hydrogen and oxygen atoms of a molecule of water, ended in the caricature of behaviorism, which, in order to be true to its gods of exact measure, was forced to deny not only personality but consciousness and thinking.

Meanwhile Freud, his school, and their dissenters, having been thrown out by the objective door, came in by the subjective window. The author makes clear their innumerable contributions to light on the mysteries of the human psyche; but he also observes that their own dominant aim, as *therapists,* dealing always with individual cases, has kept them from the strictly controlled classifications and simplifications required by a natural science. He seems to suggest that a convergence of the *Gestalt* school with psychoanalysis should set the foundation for an organic psychology—and that the work lies largely in the future. Professor Notcutt is conscious of the need of objective tests and rigorous controls; he gives fair accounts of the work of the laboratory discoverers. But he is not afraid of the unavoidable *x* and *y* of personality itself, and of the social vectors, and of what, for want of an analytical name, men still call "intuition" or "insight."

This psychologist at the University of Natal is well poised for a just appraisal of the youngest, most amorphous,


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and deepest of all the sciences. He writes well—better than most psychologists, better even than most writers. And he is the master of a wry humor which gratifyingly salts what might otherwise be a heavy dish.

## Queen of Love

*MADAME DE POMPADOUR.* By Nancy Mitford. Random House. $4.75.

The author of "The Pursuit of Love" now pursues the queen of love through 308 pages of a light and readable biography without ever quite capturing her as a credible human being. The difficulty lies in the fact that Miss Mitford, like the witless king, has succumbed to the Pompadour's charms. As a result she extolls her social graces while skimming over the disastrous political effects of her influence over Louis XV. Pleasant reading with fascinating sidelights on the court life of the period, but not to be taken too seriously as history.

## Whims and Crotchets

*PHILOSOPHER OR DOG?* By Machado de Assis. Translated by Clotilde Wilson. Noonday Press. $3.50.

The story of Quincas Borba, a rich and foolish philosopher, of Quincas Borba, his dog and namesake, and of Rubiao, the pathetic clown, who inherits the dog which bores him, the philosophy which he does not understand, and the wealth which he wastes. The novel has 201 chapters, some of them only a sentence in length; it has a mildly Shandean humor, full of whims and crotchets; and it has a rather silly ending which can be skipped since by that time the style has begun to grow tedious. Nevertheless, it is entertaining and worth reading, although decidedly less brilliant than the author's "Epitaph of a Small Winner."

## Up from the Music Halls

*FUTURE INDEFINITE.* By Noel Coward. Doubleday. $4.50.

This second instalment of Noel Coward's autobiography covers the years of World War II. His chatty personality comes through quite engagingly, and probably he is right when he implies that circumstances rather than his real temperament cast him in the role of sophisticate and cynic. Far from being a member of any lost generation he found himself quite handily and rose from the music halls into a society which lived high, wide, and handsome. When the war came he was employed for a time first as a propaganda officer in Paris and then as a semi-official diplomat in Poland and the United States. Later he settled down to doing patriotic plays and movies and to entertaining troops in far-flung encampments.

His success in managing at the same time to maintain, at least sporadically, habits of expensive living may leave the reader a bit bemused but not necessarily resentful. Perhaps the most amusing parts of the book are those in which he describes somewhat plaintively the less pleasant aspects of functioning as a celebrity on exhibit—especially when an articulate minority of Englishmen resented the publicity given a man who seemed to them to represent everything they didn't approve of and when the troops would sometimes plainly have preferred a less sophisticated entertainer. In Australia one reporter for a London paper confessed that he had been told to follow Mr. Coward around until the happy day when he could report that some soldier audience had hooted him off the stage.

# Records

## B. H. Haggin

AN EPIC record offers two infrequently played Mozart piano concertos: K.456, one of the masterpieces of the series, with a first movement of high comedy and an Andante in which a wonderfully beautiful and affecting theme is elaborated in several impressive examples of Mozartian variation-writing; and K.459, a fine work, but one that has never impressed me as much as it has other listeners whose judgment I respect. The soloist, Hans Henkemans, is an excellent pianist and musician, who plays with cleanness of execution, clarity of outline, continuity of tension, and other admirable qualities—his one deficiency being in the relaxed grace that one would like in the allegro movements, and without which they get to sound strenuous. This is especially true of the first movement of K.456, where the strenuousness is heightened by strident reproduction of the none-too-good sound of the Vienna Symphony under John Pritchard. K. 459 is more agreeably reproduced; but its first movement loses by the unprecedentedly fast tempo—an alla breve rather than an allegro 4/4.

Another Epic record offers Schubert's "Trout" Quintet for piano and strings, which has many beautiful pages, and a fine ensemble performance by the Amsterdam Piano Quintet in which again the piano-playing of Alice Heksch is especially impressive (the previous occasion was an Epic record of Mozart violin sonatas). I am unable at the moment to compare this performance with the Horszowski-Budapest Quartet performance; but I can say the new one is reproduced with more beautiful sound.

On a Bach Guild record are four Vivaldi concertos: the lovely Op. 12 No. 1 in G minor for violin, the equally lovely No. 3 in A minor for violin and No. 11 in D minor for two violins from "L'Estro armonico," and the charming Op. 10 No. 3 for flute, known as the "Bullfinch." Why No. 3 of "L'Estro armonico" is played in Nachez's arrangement and No. 11 in its original form, only the Bach Guild knows, and it doesn't say. The performances by the Chamber Orchestra of the Vienna State Opera with Jan Tomasow and Wilhelm Huebner as the solo violins, Ludwig Pfersmann as solo flute, and George Harand as solo cello, are excellent; but I think the slow movement of No. 11 would be more effective in the largo tempo specified by Vivaldi.

Esoteric offers two engaging early works of Handel, a Sonata for cello and harpsichord and the Concerto à quatre No. 1 for flute, oboe, cello, and harpsichord, both played well by the members of the Harpsichord Quartet—Claude Monteux, flute, Harry Shulman, oboe, Bernard Greenhouse, cello, and Sylvia Marlowe, harpsichord—except for the occasional aggressiveness of the harpsichord. The Handel Concerto à quatre



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No. 2 and the Bach Trio Sonata No. 1 on the same record I find uninteresting.

Remembering Byrd's wonderful Mass for four voices I listened to his Great Service, on a Vanguard record, first with anticipation, then with disappointment: the vocal writing is lovely, but unvarying, repetitious, and monotonous. And while the vocal writing is lovely, its realization in sound by the Chamber Chorus of Washington that Paul Callaway conducts is not.

The only performances of Debussy's "Nuages" I have heard that equalled the one Koussevitzky exhibited at his very first concert with the Boston Symphony in New York in 1924 were the ones he gave later; and I cannot understand why this great achievement of his was never recorded. The performance on an Epic record in which Fournet conducts the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra is well-paced but is spoiled by the coarseness of the playing at the end—to say nothing of the poor quality of the horns even earlier. "Fêtes" suffers from the lack of the virtuosity our great American orchestras have accustomed us to—*e. g.*, in the passage for muted trumpets with which the distant procession begins; and Fournet's tempo for this procession is too slow. "Sirènes," the seldom-played third of these Nocturnes, I again find uninteresting. On the reverse side is some Ravel.

WITH the University Diffusicone 12 speaker replaced by a Bozak B-207A combination (one 12-inch low-frequency "woofer" and one high-frequency dual "tweeter") my summer equipment now gives me very satisfying reproduction of records. Part of the good result comes from the treatment of the interior of the infinite-baffle (completely closed) cabinet in which the Bozak is mounted: for damping purposes the frame holding the speaker-cone is covered with strips of a material called Vibro-Damp; to break up and absorb the sound waves in the cabinet it is filled completely with folded strips of ½-inch PF-316 Aerocore Fiberglas manufactured by Owens-Corning. Filling the interior in this way instead of merely lining the panels reduces bass, and is therefore to be done only when the amplifier can compensate for the reduction. And the minimum size of the cabinet is 6 cu. ft.

# Letters

## Violence in Michigan

*Dear Sirs:* I have lived in this community as a responsible citizen since coming here in 1927. I have an unchallenged record as an employee at Chevrolet Manufacturing Company for twenty years. I served for three and a half years as a soldier in World War II and was decorated with the Bronze Star. I fought in North Africa, Italy, Corsica, France, and Germany. I am married and the father of two daughters.

Since the hearings of Representative Kit Clardy's Un-American Activities Committee in Flint I have worked only two weeks. I was severely beaten on returning to work and was placed under a doctor's care for thirty days with broken ribs and contusions. Again on August 4 I was viciously beaten by a gang of hoodlums at the factory gates.

I have had police protection for two nights on leaving work but expect to meet more violence on entering and leaving the plant unless a real effort is made to establish order on the streets of Flint.

*Flint, Mich.* HOWARD FOSTER

## Books Wanted

*Dear Sirs:* There is a great need for books on the social sciences at Hislop College, Nagpur University, India. Hislop College operates on a budget so limited that it is unable to provide adequate library references. Magazines are also very welcome: *Time, Newsweek, World Report, Business Week, Nation, New Republic, Progressive, Life, Collier's,* etc.

I hope your readers will send us what they can at their own expense, by cheapest post, addressed to me, Law College Building, Nagpur University.

DR. EDDY ASIRVATHAM, Director,
Department of Social Sciences

*Nagpur, India*

## Comics and Communism

*Dear Sirs:* A recent issue of *Horror,* a so-called "entertaining comic," contains the following stories:

The Vault of Horror, in which a brutal, sadistic, rapacious sea captain is done in by a lass who is really a witch who becomes an octopus.

The Crypt of Terror, in which a grave-robber has his blood drained by vampires.

The Catacombs, in which a thief lures a fellow-thief into the catacombs to murder him, then gets lost and perishes following his companion's trail of blood instead of a trail of red wine.

The Witch's Cauldron, in which an oaf, victimized by a circus mental marvel known as The Brain, turns on the latter when egged on by a shimmy dancer and does him in. When pressed to produce The Brain, the oaf produces The Brain's brain.

In addition to this delectable fare for impressionable minds and some horrible puns ("the morgue the merrier," "no ghoul like an old ghoul," etc.) *Horror* contains an editorial which reads in part:

"Are you a Red dupe? The group most anxious to destroy comics are the Communists. So the next time some joker gets up at a P. T. A. meeting jabbering about the 'naughty comic books,' give him the once-over. Some of these people are no-goods. Some are do-gooders. Some are well-meaning. And some are just plain mean. We're not saying he is a Communist. He may be a dupe."

*Los Angeles, Calif.* PHIL HAZEN

## Liberalism's Aims

*Dear Sirs:* We would like to attempt to set forth explicitly our ideas about the meaning of liberalism. To us liberalism is a social attitude characterized by interest in increasing the welfare of the masses without drastic changes in the structure of society. It is an attitude of intellectual tolerance; selfish considerations and bias play no part in the formation of its economic, political, and social policies. Liberals abhor tyranny, inhumanity, and undemocratic processes in any form. It would not be far wrong to say that we aspire to a middle-class economic prosperity for all Americans.

We believe in enlightened capitalism, with cooperation between labor and management in the formation of economic policy. As for the Communists, we would rather see their reformation than their extirpation. We believe that the Communist rulers, with the increasing sophistication of their peoples, will sooner or later be forced to institute the democratic processes that they now suppress. The general aim of liberalism is to enlighten rather than manipulate, to make the populace healthier and happier rather than submissive.

MR. AND MRS. LEO J. BARANSKI

*Princeton, N. J.*

## Beauty Is Democracy

*Dear Sirs:* If Americanism is synonymous with democracy, the democracy of Thomas Paine and Patrick Henry and Jefferson and Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt, then patriotism is loyalty to people and to ideas. Patriotism is not platitudes nor is it jingoism.

America is not beautiful for its spa-

*(Continued on inside back cover)*



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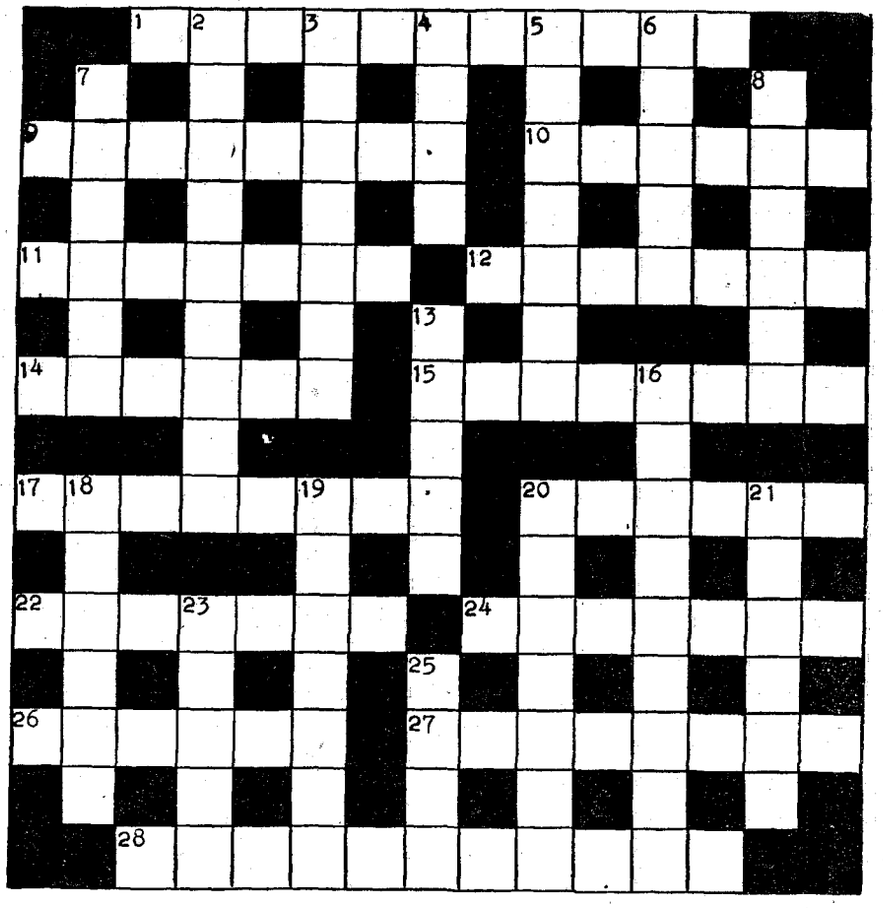
# Crossword Puzzle No. 582

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



## ACROSS

1 Perhaps one doesn't like El Caudillo either! (11)
9 Study certain passages for leads. (8)
10 The dearer sort should be gone over again and again. (6)
11 The enemy might be, and what else? Nuts! (7)
12 Books which sound somewhat projected. (7)
14 Exist only to affirm _____ very eagerly? (6)
15 The way the Rebs went when they were scattered. (8)
17 Proving a parcel is a place of inspiration. (8)
20 See 25 down.
22 See 3 down.
24 Sepals. (7)
26 About to cut loose, the cad! (6)
27 You might have seen it at once, more cordially! (8)
28 and 13 down. The best of writers are cornered here. (11, 5)

## DOWN

2 Where the Russians never had it so good? (3, 6)
3 and 22. Unclear? (7, 7)
4 Sort of cereal used for malting. (4)
5 They're bombastic, and certainly not prosaic. (7)
6 and 8. Buildings lie in the mud, like a passerine. (4, 7)
7 The woe of a distant relative of the preceding. (6)
8 See 6 down.
13 See 28.
16 Foretunately, the barons won out here. (9)
18 5 and 7, but not 9. (6)
19 Sounds like the carriage is for the birds! (7)
20 Evidently Diana is associated with a sign of the zodiac. (7)
21 Turns inside out. (6)
23 Fish on ice, perhaps, not necessarily cheap. (5)
25 *and 20 across.* Ticket taker who shouldn't have any trouble with the meter. (4, 6)

• ● •

**SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 581**

ACROSS:—1 OLIGARCH; 9 FABLIAU; 10 SALERNO; 11 SKILLET; 12 EDIFICE; 13 FORCED LANDING; 15 MAGIC MOUNTAIN; 21 RECEIPT; 22 BARGAIN; 23 PARTNER; 24 ONAGERS; 25 RESIDE; 26 ISOLATED.

DOWN:—1 OFFISH; 2 IN BRIEF; 3 AXILLAR; 4 COURT REPORTER; 6 TALLINN; 7 MARTINI; 8 STONE AGE; 10 SPELLING BOOKS; 14 IMPROPER; 16 GO-CARTS; 17 CAIRNED; 18 and 5 AIR MAIL STAMPS; 19 NEAREST; 20 UNUSED.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.



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## Letters

*(Continued from page 179)*

cious skies; over every country in the world the skies are spacious. America is not beautiful for its amber waves of grain; the grain is just as amber in Canada, Argentina, and Soviet Russia. America is not beautiful for its majestic mountains; we have no mountains so majestic as the Himalayas.

America is beautiful for its democracy—and beautiful to the degree that democracy is practiced by everybody. Platitudes be hanged—let's get down to principles: may the good things here be enjoyed by every single soul! M. ALICE ROSS
*Los Angeles, Calif.*

## Fatal Inconsistency

*Dear Sirs:* Is the United States encouraging the spread of communism? What a question, one may say. Are we not noted as the world's greatest battlers against communism? What is all this stir down at Washington if not to protect ourselves from communism? Can it be possible that the White Knight who jousts so recklessly and even hysterically against his arch foe in our homeland is aiding and abetting the spread of communism in other parts of the world?

Take British Guiana, for example. A vestige of British imperialism, the colony is controlled by less than one per cent of the population. Nevertheless, the masses have been slowly and painfully working their way toward freedom. By April of last year they were in sight of enacting a labor law almost identical with one that is used and taken for granted in the United States. At that juncture, a battalion of soldiers and two battleships were hurried to the colony. Civil rights were abrogated and elected officials jailed.

But, you ask, what did this have to do with the United States? Just this. Washington lost no time in announcing to the world that it was in sympathy with the action of Great Britain. And people all over the world could not but fear that the great democratic nation, which has a lighted statue of liberty far out in its chief harbor, was tinged with imperialism. Is it unreasonable to think that such actions can cause millions of people seeking a better life to cuddle up a little closer to communism? J. W. REED
*Portland, Ore.*

## Ready to Help

*Dear Sirs:* If you know of any worthy individuals who are suffering extreme financial hardship due to investigating committees, loyalty oaths, and so on, please let me know about them. Though I am an ordinary factory worker, I would gladly help out courageous defenders of our civil liberties. ROBERT FODOR
*Wayne, Mich.*


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